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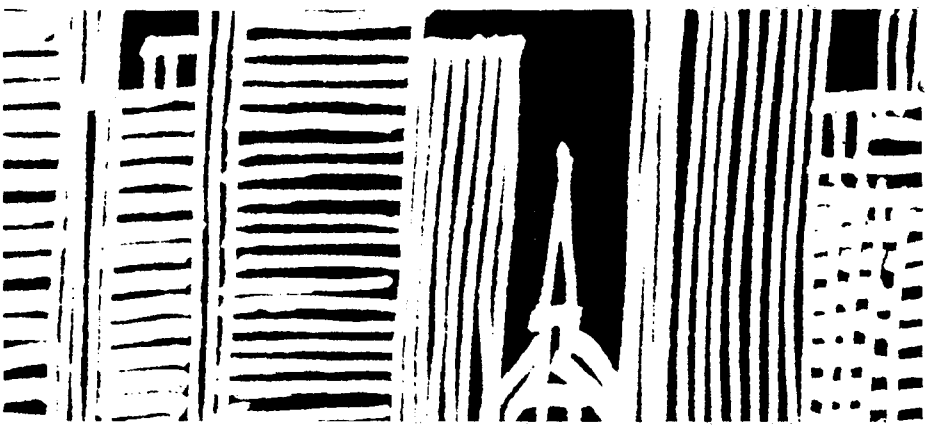

CELIBACY

The problem Vatican II did not face

Leslie Dewart

OUR CULTURAL EXCHANGES

Richard Marshall

A LONG PARLIAMENT

J. M. Cameron

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NEWS AND VIEWS

We noticed a reprint recently of an article on woman's role by Father David Barry. It originally appeared in a 1909 issue of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Review*. Excerpts follow: "It seems plain enough that allowing women the right of suffrage is incompatible with the high Catholic ideal of the unity of domestic life . . . Everyone will admit that the wife's domestic authority is subordinate to that of her husband. But is she to be accorded an autonomy in outside affairs that is denied in the home? . . . I do not hesitate to say (this) even where the matters to be decided on would come specially within their cognizance, and where their judgment would, therefore, be more reliable than that of men. . . . The passive virtues of humility, patience, meekness, forbearance and self-repression are looked upon by the Church as the special prerogative of the female soul, and priests see conspicuous examples of them in the every-day exercise of their ministry . . . These virtues would soon become tarnished in the dust and turmoil of a contested election; and their absence would soon be disagreeably in evidence in the character of women, who are, at the same time, almost constitutionally debarred from pre-eminence in the most robust virtues for which the soul of man is specially adapted."

•

For those in the New York area: Frederick Franck's remarkable drawings of the second Vatican Council, which were widely discussed at the Council itself and included in his book *Outsider at the Council* (Macmillan), are on exhibition at the Grippi & Waddell gallery, 15 East 57th Street in Manhattan, and will remain on display until April 23.

•

The caution of Nicholas Katzenbach: On March 11, 1965, the Attorney-General promised swift prosecution of federal and state officials responsible for bludgeoning and tear-gassing of civil-rights demonstrators at the beginning of the march on Selma. Said Mr. Katzenbach: "I have no question that federal law was violated. We are going to bring charges against those whom we can identify as violators, and we are going to do so promptly." That was 13 months ago, and not a single arrest has yet been made.

•

Father Pedro Arrupe, S.J., Father General of the Jesuits, speaking April 5 at Fordham:

"Human dignity, human freedom, and the noble task of building the earth: the time has passed when Catholics might speak of these as merely human, merely secular ideals. The Church has made her attitude unambiguously clear: they are authentically Christian values. But in taking this stand, the Church has also proven her capacity to learn: she has learned from modern and contemporary man's experience.

"But more particularly, she has learned from that school to which the contemporary world owes so much: the American experience. For without the American democratic experiment, dedicated to the proposition that 'all men are created equal' and 'endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights,' how much longer would it have taken the world—and the Church—to recognize how sacred and central these rights must be, not only to the developed human sense, but to the Christian sense as well? Without the American experience of religious pluralism, how much longer would we have had to wait for the recent Council's Constitution on Religious Liberty?"

•

An edition of Vatican Council documents has been banned from the Catholic high schools of Los Angeles because it contains a number of brief commentaries by Protestant and Orthodox scholars. Father Donald Montrose, superintendent of high schools and colleges in the Archdiocese has declared that the Protestant and Orthodox material is "questionable." Father Walter M. Abbott, S.J., editor of the book (*The Documents of Vatican II*) discreetly pointed out that Father Montrose had handed down his decision before a copy of the book was available for him to read.

•

A number of celebrities have just protested the Ginzburg conviction under the title "The Committee to Protest Absurd Censorship." The full-page ad appeared in the N. Y. *Times*.

The argument goes: "At a time when so many magazines are failing, and when so many survive on sheer tripe, (Ginzburg) launched a successful magazine, *Fact*, which is in the great muck-raking, spit-in-the-face-of-hypocrisy tradition. He published and mailed some effective advertisements for his wares, a few of which are, by most standards, in bad taste. *So they are sending him to jail for five years!*"

Well, hardly. The Court didn't send Ginzburg to jail for publishing *Fact* or a few tasteless ads. Twenty-nine seconds spent studying the decision will show he was convicted because a majority of the Court thought that *Eros*, plus a newsletter and book were obscene. One can protest the Court's controversial consideration of a publication's advertising (as *part* of the context *in close cases*) without parodying the Court's reasoning or pretending that Ginzburg is being persecuted because of *Fact*, a magazine that never entered the case at all.

Other selections from the Committee ad are similarly shabby:

"The sick will celebrate. The rest of us will mourn. . ." (Translation: anyone disagreeing with the Committee or Ginzburg is sick.)

"Are they now going to imprison all the people who print sexy or shoddy advertisements?" (Obviously not, or the whole Committee would do time for this ad.)

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

Changing Doctrine?

Mundelein, Ill.

To the Editors: In his review [Feb. 25] of *Man and Sin* by Piet Schoonenberg and *Perspectives in Evolution* by Robert Francoeur, William Birmingham made the following statement: "One need but re-read the Council of Trent on the subject to see that by any standards other than those of Catholic rhetoric he and Schoonenberg are changing the doctrine. The change is within a continuity but it is nonetheless real. It is time that Catholics faced the implications of the fact."

After having re-read the Council of Trent on the subject and after having read *Grace* by Gleason, *The Life of Grace* by Stevens, *Divine Grace and Man* by Fransen, and *Nature and Grace* by Rahner, I am forced to say that it seems to me that neither Schoonenberg nor Francoeur are guilty of changing the doctrine. On the contrary, I feel that the excellent four-point summary of the views of these men which Mr. Birmingham presented shows only that the doctrine of Carthage, Orange, and Trent concerning original sin has been greatly clarified and enhanced rather than changed.

In order to make a valid judgment as to whether the doctrine of Trent has been changed or not, it is necessary to see the statements of Trent in their historical perspective. This means that the Council of Orange and especially the canons of the Synods of Carthage must also be re-read. In the light of these documents, it seems to me that there is no doctrinal change in referring to original sin as a situation-state of man rather than using the traditional *"voluntarium ex voluntate aliena."* To refer to original sin as the situation-state of man does not deny the link of original sin with the Fall and its inheritance in the newly born child. For the situation-state of man must be understood as internal definite-

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ON DEBATING CELIBACY

Among the characteristics of the Church which the world for centuries simultaneously admired and distrusted was its internal harmony. The admirers marveled at its ability to sail through history without sinking, weathering one storm after another. The detractors also marveled, but saw mainly the power inherent in any totalitarian organization to survive if it effectively controlled the life of its members. Today the Church probably has more admirers than detractors, but for some very different reasons. Vatican II showed a Church willing to risk some of the pitfalls which confront free institutions. For once, it seemed, the Church was willing to relinquish some tested methods of internal control for the sake of truth and personal conscience. The results of this change, tentative and groping as it has been, could probably have been foreseen: progress mixed with confusion, enthusiasm with bewilderment, hope with dread.

The problem of clerical celibacy, dealt with at length by Leslie Dewart in this issue, is a good case in point. There have always been complaints in the Church about the wisdom of an inflexible law joining a vocation to the priesthood and celibacy. There have always been priests who left the priesthood because the law was too much for them to bear, or stayed at the price of personal immaturity. There have always been priests who engaged in casual affairs. There have always been those who believed that some married priests would prove advantageous to the Church. Nonetheless, the Church persevered in upholding the law and managed, all the while, to keep the suggestions, complaints and the scandals away from the public eye. There is no reason to be cynical about this strategy. The Church has never claimed celibacy is easy, only that it is possible and valuable. With a certain psychological shrewdness, it recognized that nothing short of an unquestioning affirmation of a celibate clergy would suffice to keep the law intact. In itself, celibacy is difficult to bear; it may become insupportable if there is widespread doubt about its wisdom.

It seems reasonable to suppose that this latter consideration may have

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been paramount in Pope Paul's mind when he requested the Council Fathers not to debate the subject publicly in St. Peter's. He did not say that the matter should be dropped altogether in the Church, or that others could not discuss it. But he clearly wanted it to be handled quietly and delicately. As it has turned out, his hopes have proved impossible of fulfillment. Once raised, the issue could not be buried in private episcopal memorandums or obscure theological journals. More than that, the mounting intensity of the debate proves the instinctive wisdom of the old *de facto* rule that nothing at all should be said against the law. The more it is talked about and argued about, the more likely it is that the present generation of celibate priests will find their vow harder to bear.

We think this point worth stressing. For every priest who welcomes an article against universal and inflexible celibacy, there is probably another who feels his commitment is being attacked and undermined. Tension alleviated for one priest may be tension created for another. Something very similar has happened among the laity in the birth control debate: countless parents are relieved that the issue is finally out in the open; but many others are deeply disheartened to discover that their painful sacrifices may turn out to have been unnecessary. The human cost of open debate can be high.

Can anything be done about this cost? We doubt it. Celibacy should have been debated long ago. The practical wisdom of a monolithic affirmation of celibacy should have given way to an even higher wisdom, that of recognizing the human need to consciously admit and openly deal with human problems. There is a price to be paid for psychological repression and administrative suppression. That price is a violent, often irrational reaction. Once lost, balance is not easy to regain. The most the Church can hope for now is that the unreason of silence will not be replaced by the unreason of frantic bickering. This is not too much to hope for. But it will require a permissive magisterium, a sensitivity on the part of writers, and the courage of the Church to let everyone concerned present testimony. Nothing less will do.

IF TOLD TO LEAVE . . .

What would the United States do if a new regime in South Vietnam ordered our troops out of the country? With the current political turmoil in the South, the question looks a good deal less abstract than ever before. The Johnson Administration, which went well out of its way to underline its commitment to Prime Minister Ky at Honolulu, has now passed the word that American fortunes are not really tied to Ky's regime. In translation, this must mean that Washington is well aware of Ky's deep unpopularity, and that it is prepared to live with any anti-Communist regime, if, as appears likely, Ky and the junta do not last very long.

But what of a neutralist government? The Buddhists have ample reason not to trust the Vietcong, and at any rate, one may wonder whether the Buddhists could muster any greater popular support than the succession of juntas. But the discontent is clearly widespread, and reporters tell us of a rapidly growing anti-Americanism. How far are we willing to go to prevent the rise of a neutralist regime, or if one should take control suddenly, would we overthrow it, fight on alone, or simply quit the country?

One supposes, at this stage, that President Johnson would not approve a unilateral withdrawal under any circumstances. The logic of this casts our policy against free elections, since we are not prepared to live with certain possible results of such a vote. If invited to leave, we could, of course, hang on until the new regime itself falters, with or without a push from our side. Or we could withdraw to our bases pending some sort of negotiation that satisfies us as well as Saigon. In such a case, it could be argued, the worldwide charges of "colonialism" would not be very much louder than they are now. Such a stance would be outrageous in terms of international law, but it might not be overly unpalatable to a neutralist regime: America's presence might be expected to give such a regime leverage in bargaining with the Vietcong.

It is safe to say that if we are invited to leave, all the options open to us will be repugnant. But the question must be aired now as part of the national debate, instead of merely stumbled upon as other sets of unpalatable options have been in the course of the war. If the South is close to political and economic collapse, and if the South's will to fight is close to disappearing—as many observers claim—how far are we prepared to go to "save" a "nation" that does not want our kind of rescuing? And even apart from the political instability, if the war cannot be won, except perhaps with a ten- or twenty-year effort, how far are we prepared to go in pursuit of limited goals? At what point do the means grow out of all proportion to the ends?

At the very least, we should face the fact that a ten- or twenty-year war will probably close for a generation a set of diplomatic options in other areas of crucial importance. Those who contemplate a long war with relative satisfaction ought to be forced to weigh the missed opportunities for taking advantage of the Russia-

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China split and pursuing, in context of the American-Soviet detente, the number-one world problem of nuclear disarmament. Vietnam may be worth all this, but in the light of the South's unwillingness to be saved, and in the light of our inability to win the war without obliterating Vietnam, somehow we doubt it.

EYES ON INDUSTRY

The auto and drug industries are taking it on the chin. Just as auto executives were pleading with the government to let them patrol their own industry in regard to safety standards, word leaked out that one and a half million Chevrolets on the road suffered from defective accelerators. To remedy the situation, General Motors had requested its dealers to call in the autos for alteration—a process which can reach only a fraction of the faulty models. The braking systems of 500 '65 Buick Le Sabres and 40,000 Lincoln Continentals, it was discovered, had demanded changes after these cars were on the road. In 1964, Chrysler Corporation urged its dealers to recall certain models and check on the steering apparatus.

In these cases there was no direct attempt by the manufacturers to reach the car owners, and letters sent out from dealers often spoke only in terms of "improvements" rather than safety—lest customers become too alarmed, explained one auto company spokesman. Senator Ribicoff promptly requested the auto manufacturers to submit records of all mechanical defects discovered and corrected since 1960. And bills were introduced in Congress requiring manufacturers to notify owners and the public of any safety hazards in their cars; failure to do so would make the manufacturer subject to fine or imprisonment and automatically constitute negligence in any suit resulting from a defect-caused accident.

Drugs are getting a similarly stiff treatment. In a refreshingly straight-from-the shoulder address by Food and Drug Commissioner Dr. James I. Goddard, drug manufacturers were told that reports on new drugs were all too often unprofessional, incomplete and simply dishonest. Clinical investigators were deliberately chosen who were "known to be more concerned about industry friendships than in developing good data." "Constant, direct, personal pressure" has been placed by industry representatives on government employees. Misleading labeling and advertising were attempted. Dr. Goddard recognized the complicated process of discovering, investigating, approving and marketing a new drug, but reminded his listeners: "At the end of the long line is a human life. Some of you seem to have forgotten this basic fact."

The attention being paid to autos and drugs is welcome. Much of the quality of American life is determined by large industries like these. Their operations are extended and complicated—often far beyond the ken of the average citizen. Their connections in Washington are many (witness the appearance of Theodore Sorensen as an attorney for General Motors) and their ability to project an image of all-knowing benevolence is manifest. When the late Senator Kefauver led an investigation into monopoly practices in the U.S. a few years ago, two of the industries his report focused upon were autos and drugs. Not much came of the Kefauver investigation—probably nothing would have resulted at all, had it not been for the thalidomide scandal which stirred public anger over what, in fact, was only a small part of the material covered by the Senator's committee. Today Kefauver has been vindicated. This nation's large industries are neither naturally villainous nor naturally benevolent; but they need constant watching, of the sort we have been witnessing these past few weeks.

THE RHODESIAN EMBARGO

The drama on the high seas last week involving the British navy and tankers attempting to defy the Rhodesian oil embargo was at best a temporary check on the fringes of the chessboard. The main pieces sit in the United Nations Security Council, where Britain, with United States support, sought, and was granted, UN authorization to halt tankers of any nation, by force if necessary, to maintain the embargo.

This is good enough as far as it goes. But the demands of the African states to make the present voluntary economic sanctions against the outlaw Smith regime mandatory go much further to the point; and the point is to bring down the Smith regime, return Rhodesia to British rule, and as quickly as possible institute majority government in that country. And all this to serve as precedent for action against the racist regimes of South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique.

The reasons for African dissatisfaction with the present voluntary method of sanctions become clear once it is realized that Rhodesia is also supplied by South Africa with a steady flow of refined oil. The high seas do not enter into the picture. With adjacent borders and numerous economic links, the three territories of Rhodesia, South Africa and Mozambique have become inter-dependent in staving off the pressures

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the outside world might bring against their regimes. They are quite aware that successful action against any one of them would endanger the other two.

With only voluntary sanctions, both South Africa and Mozambique have been free to aid their neighbor. It is Rhodesia's weakness that by her unilateral declaration of independence from British rule she has become an outlaw regime. South Africa, on the other hand, has long been recognized a sovereign state and thus avoids sanctions on the grounds that apartheid is an internal affair. Likewise, the Portuguese colony enjoys a legality that has been her greatest protection from outside interference. If sanctions against Rhodesia were made legally binding by the UN however, both countries would face the dilemma of either halting their aid to Rhodesia or risking sanctions themselves. This, at any rate, is the rationale for making the sanctions mandatory. One can hardly doubt that by one means or another the question of white racism in Africa must eventually be resolved.

The African states have also made it clear that they regard the Rhodesian question a test of the West's sincerity. They apparently were not impressed by the sit-in of Ambassador Goldberg and the British delegate in the Security Council on the matter of the naval embargo. As it happens, there are some good reasons why they should not be impressed. The Wilson government all but assured Smith's declaration of independence by admitting beforehand that it would not use force to put the rebellion down. Now that Wilson has a large majority in Commons, Britain may take a stronger attitude toward the rebellion.

Beyond this, however, remains the issue of American and British business interests which provide South Africa with essential capital investments. These could be withdrawn today if the U.S. and Britain so desired. Even this would not bring down South Africa, but it might cut into her support of Rhodesia. And in any event, it would resolve in black African minds which side the U.S. is on in the matter of racism.

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FROM BRITAIN

A LONG PARLIAMENT

The Labor Party has won the British General Election. The margin of victory—at the time of writing it looks as though Mr. Wilson and his colleagues will have a majority of about 100 over the Conservatives—is decisive, though not overwhelming. It is a great personal triumph for the Prime Minister, for there can be no doubt that the victory is a vote of confidence in him. It is a great personal defeat for Edward Heath, the newly elected leader of the Tories.

The campaign by both parties has had a certain presidential style, and while a great many factors have influenced the result, it seems certain that the Labor victory is in large measure a consequence of the impression Wilson has been able to create, that of a competent, decisive, shrewd and humane man, a man of the people in his origins but with the store of information and capacity for seeing the interconnections of things that come from an elaborate education. His television appearances have on the whole been very successful; whereas those of Edward Heath have been disastrous, though towards the end of the campaign he began to improve.

Mr. Heath is a likable, highly intelligent man, rather to the left of the center of the Tory Party. He has had only seven months in which to build up his authority and change the line of his party. As much as Harold Wilson he is a classless man, not a gentleman in the classic sense either by birth or by training. He didn't go to a public school and his succession to the leadership represents an attempt, perhaps a bit half-hearted, to give the Tories, still a party dominated by the right and the well-born, a popular image. This time the attempt didn't come off. Heath, perhaps over-impressed by experts, altered his natural style, became slow and sententious in speech, and, especially in the early stages of the campaign, gave something of the impression of a mechanical man wired for sound. There was no direct television confrontation between the leaders. Had there been, there is no doubt that Wilson would have acted Heath off the screen.

Much the most sympathetic character on our television screens has been the Liberal leader, Mr. Grimond. He is very good-looking, but to this is added an evident sensibility, honesty and a sharp eye for the humbug of the two major parties. Given our electoral system, which leaves minority parties hopelessly under-represented, the Liberals did surprisingly well and they will have about twelve seats in the new House of Commons. The only loss Labor suffered in the election was in Colne Valley, where the sitting Labor candidate, Patrick

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Duffy (the name has a good Democratic sound to American ears), was ejected by the Liberal candidate, Richard Wainwright, a native Yorkshireman who may well make a mark in national politics.

What has the election been about? The Conservatives have tried to focus attention on a number of issues in a way they thought would damage the Government. They proposed new ways of dealing with the perennial economic problems—the rise in prices, the high cost of housing, the increase in crime, the failure to bring about a settlement in Rhodesia.

To everything the Tories said the Labor Party had one answer and a good one. They reminded the electorate that the Tories had been in power for thirteen years—"thirteen wasted years" was the phrase coined by someone at Labor headquarters and used with devastating effect—and had been unable to cure the ills for which they now proffered such plausible remedies. Labor had been in power with a minute majority for seventeen months and had already, so it was argued, begun to grapple with these immense problems. What mattered was not so much whether it was true that Labor had been grappling successfully with Britain's economic problems. The technical intricacy of these problems and their proposed remedies is very great and it is unlikely that the general public was able to unravel the tangled questions about the balance of payments crisis or about fiscal policy.

But most people, even among those who voted for the Tories, had a strong impression that the Labor Government was not afraid to govern and to take, if necessary, unpopular measures to solve economic problems. This created a good impression, whereas the Tories, apart from the great eccentrics such as Enoch Powell and Quintin Hogg, gave an impression of being shifty and insincere. This came out above all in the Tory handling of the Rhodesian question. The party was badly split on Rhodesia, having a vigorous and slightly racialist minority who seemed in effect to be on the side of the Rhodesian Front; and they had a mighty patron in Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Omnium of our day. Fundamentally, Heath was in favor of the rather weak Wilson policy of relying upon sanctions and avoiding armed conflict with our "kith and kin"; but, partly to placate his rebels, partly just to knock the Government, a great fuss was made about Wilson's refusal to talk unconditionally with Mr. Smith. The Labor Party naturally asked Heath what they were to talk about; to this, naturally again, they received no reply.

Perhaps the most gratifying feature of the campaign and its results has been the disappearance of racialism as an important political factor. Peter Griffiths, who successfully capitalized feeling against colored immigrants at the Smethwick by-election, defeating Mr. Gordon Walker, the then Foreign Secretary, was soundly defeated by the Labor candidate and has disappeared from national politics, one hopes forever. The Prime Minister accurately summed this up as a victory for public decency. And Mr. Gordon Walker, defeated at the Leyton by-election only a few months ago, with the racial issue again drawn into the campaign, this time triumphed at Leyton with a substantial majority. Another victory for public decency. Indeed, that they are open to infection by racialism is an indication of something curious about the Tories of our day. It goes with the obvious fact that if you want to flog criminals or hang them, to increase the amount of corporal punishment in the schools or to sniff out Bolshevism in unlikely places, it is in the right wing of the Conservative Party that you will find a home.

Fewer people voted at this election than at the last one. This may indicate a certain boredom with politics, or a feeling that the big issues are not settled by elections. Apart from a few people on the left of the Labor Party and Enoch Powell among the Conservatives there was a tacit agreement not to talk much about the military and international facts of life. Mr. Johnson must be highly satisfied with Harold Wilson's return to office. He has no more faithful supporter east of Suez.

The reaction to and estimate of de Gaulle is depressingly provincial and philistine in both parties. Very few see that he is the one politician of stature in Europe who sees that we have come into a new age in politics and that the theses of the Cold War have no application to the present world. The issue of the Common Market blew up in the final stages of the election. Most of the discussion has been concerned with agricultural prices and the opportunities entry into the Common Market would give to the manufacturers of motor cars and other commodities. Few see that Britain's entry into Europe could be a means of unfreezing the present rigid oppositions of East and West and of counterbalancing the power of the potentially very dangerous West German state.

It will be interesting to watch the behavior of the Labor left, now more adequately represented in the House of Commons, in the next few months. Wilson's fragile majority made them walk carefully and speak in low tones. Now there is a bigger majority they may grow bolder and say on issues of foreign policy what they have been thinking but not saying out loud. This, and not a dishonorable falling in with the vicious logic of nuclear deterrence, would be yet another victory for public decency.

J. M. CAMERON

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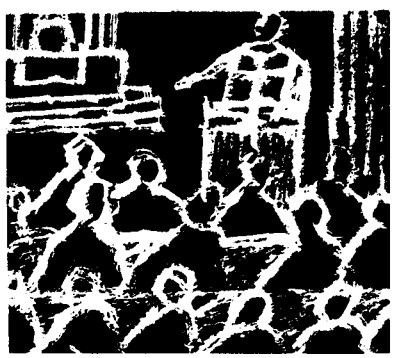
THE CELIBACY PROBLEM

Discipline in the light of eschatology

LESLIE DEWART



It is likely that within the next few years the Church will be pressed to decide consciously whether it wishes to retain, modify or abrogate a Western tradition of clerical celibacy that extends back about 16 centuries. The discussion of this topic must begin with the distinction between the celibacy of major clerics—which in practice means the celibacy of the priesthood—and that of the religious. The two are very closely related. But to argue, as I shall here, in favor of abrogation, is in no way to propose that the celibate religious life be abolished, or that priests be absurdly forbidden either simple or religious celibacy. *Clerical celibacy* means, for present purposes, exactly this: the *invariable* adjunction of celibacy to the priesthood or, conversely, the *necessary* separation of priesthood and marriage. It refers specifically to the twofold canonical tradition which makes major orders an impediment to marriage and marriage an impediment to orders.

It is generally agreed that the mutual exclusion of priesthood and marriage obeys only historical, not dogmatic, reasons—principally the wish that the clergy approximate the religious life. Evidently, the motive behind this wish has been the profound esteem in which the religious life, which traditionally requires celibacy, has been held. Thus, to understand why the celibacy of the priesthood may no longer yield a net spiritual profit for the Church we must first understand how religious celibacy originated and why the priesthood was required to remain celibate in order at least to approximate the spiritual excellence of the religious life.

The religious life can rightly be said to have been inspired by the teaching of Jesus on the counsels. But Jesus did not institute it. As an institution the religious life was created by the Church. More precisely, as the concrete form devised by the early Church to live the life of the counsels, religious celibacy owes its origin to the patristic development of the eschatology of the apostolic Church.

The apostolic Church expected the *parousia* of the Christ and the instauration of His Kingdom to occur in the immediate future: the world was certain to end within the lifetime of many people then living (I Cor. 15:51, RSV). According to St. Paul this expectation demanded a certain attitude towards "the world": I mean, not towards "this world," the world of evil and sin which we make for ourselves, but towards "the world," the good world created by God to bring forth His glory, the world redeemed by the blood of Jesus, the world which manifests God's good will towards men. The redeemed world, the *Christian* world, was now ready to enter into its reward: it was about to end. Its time had been fulfilled and, like a woman about to bring forth new life, who dreads yet welcomes the event, the Church was expectant, awaiting imminent cataclysm. The final conflagration would render the world a stage for the glorious return of Jesus, the Christ.

In the *imminence* of this expectation we find one reason why St. Paul recommended, for instance, resignation to slavery. His advice: "It is good for a man not

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to touch a woman . . . I say to the unmarried and to the widows: it is good for them if they so continue, even as I" (I Cor. 7:1, 8), belongs in the same category. Its basic meaning becomes clear if we remember the complementary command: "But to them that are married, not I but the Lord commandeth, that the wife depart not from her husband . . . And let not the husband put away his wife" (7:10-11). The doctrine, therefore, is really twofold: "Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife" (7:27). The reason is explicitly given by St. Paul: "I think therefore that this is good for the present necessity, and that it is good for a man so to be" (7:26).

The "present necessity" (Douay) or, more accurately, the "impending distress" (RSV) refers, of course, to the end of the world. St. Paul recommended celibacy on the same grounds that he commanded the married to remain married and to keep the obligations of their state. For celibacy was recommended not simply for the rather worldly motive that it would be more convenient at a time of distress. It was spiritually commendable as a witness to the *imminence* of the *parousia*: the Christian should not lay plans to marry and beget a family. On the other hand, the married would be wrong to abandon their families and selfishly disencumber themselves. Thus, witnessing to the hope of the forthcoming Kingdom required above all that one did not lightly take up a new life, whether marriage or celibacy, in the expectation of an indefinite future ahead: "Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called" (7:20).

As we know, the *parousia* was delayed beyond the point at which its imminence remained reasonable, though as late as the end of the third century the yearly expectation of Christ's return at Easter was a fairly common popular belief. The delay gradually required the early Church to reinterpret every Christian dogma in order to preserve the integrity of faith and experience. This was only the first stage of an evolutionary process: it set Christianity in endless motion. Henceforth Christianity had to engage itself in the dynamic process of realizing itself in history.

The gradually emerging doctrine modified the earlier eschatology in the direction reaffirmed by the Creed of Constantinople. The *parousia* remained the cornerstone of the faith. But it would not take place in the near future. It must be expected only as a very distant event: it might not come for as much as a thousand years or two. Later, during the middle ages, all efforts to construct an eschatological chronology finally ceased, and the *parousia* was envisaged as taking place in the literally unforeseeable future. To the degree that dogma developed in this direction celibacy acquired a different, more important role: for the first time it began to fulfill a purpose which marriage in no way could satisfy.

From Imminence to Eventuality

For once the emphasis changed from the imminence to the *eventuality* of the *parousia*, marriage and celibacy no longer constituted essentially the same witness, since stability in one's mode of life no longer signified the Christian hope. The world was expected to outlast the Christian's lifetime. Henceforth he must, on the one hand, plan to live out his appointed days to their full extent; he must reckon with a worldly future which was utterly indistinguishable (except by faith) from a pagan future in which the Christ was not expected. (Hence the emergence of ambivalent feelings towards "the world" and the difficulty of distinguishing between "the world" of Christian history and "this world" of sin, as well as the feeling that even the redeemed world is a temptation and an occasion of sin.) On the other hand, though the Christian must continue to live in a world endowed with an indefinite future, he must live with the constant memory that nevertheless the world will not last forever. Witness to the eventual coming of the Kingdom was given not by stability, but by the refusal to place one's hopes in the times of the world, in the *saeculum*, that is, in this present age. Therefore, the eschatological meaning of marriage and that of celibacy became differentiated. Marriage remained holy in itself, albeit a worldly (e.g. tempting) state of life. (Its holiness depended on whether its worldliness was subsumed under the "other-worldly" outlook which defined the Christian hope, which made every Christian reality *in the* world to be not *of this* world). But the witness was more aptly and more perfectly given by the renunciation of the world than by the acceptance of life—even a holy life—in this redeemed but transitory world.

Thus withdrawal from the world should not be construed as withdrawal from evil: on the contrary, the religious life was a separation from the *center* of Christian life. Indeed, in a sense it was a separation from the Church itself. But this withdrawal from the world now had a quality of generic perfection which life in the world, even at the center of the Church and regardless of its possible individual perfection, could no longer have: it witnessed professionally to the eschatological hope of the Church.

In this perspective, then, to profess celibacy was to forsake a home in the world. It meant renouncing the stability of a world which, despite its apparent permanence, the Christian knew to be transitory. The re-

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ligious life was the very antithesis of the married life insofar as its task was not to look after the Christian present but the Christian future: its specific role was to keep alive in the Church's consciousness the hope of the Kingdom which was sure to come. This reminder was required because it was not *soon* to come. If one so dedicated were to marry he would bring a worldly home to himself, even were he and his family to live in the desert.

When to these, strictly dogmatic, considerations was added the influence of the Stoic concept of *askesis,* which likened the cultivation of virtue to an athlete's training of the body, the institution of religious celibacy was complete in most respects. This ascetic aspect, though accidental, gave religious celibacy a peculiar, enduring flavor: sexual abstinence and professed chastity became a preparation for the individual's *lonely* death, that is, his death away from the world. Religious separation from the world took at first a literal form in the anchorite and eremitic movement. The introduction of the cenobitic, community life was the last fundamental modification needed to produce the pattern of religious life which has persisted to our own day.

Not for Everybody

We may easily understand, therefore, why the Church has since early times protected and encouraged the religious life and recommended it to all Christians as an excellent Christian vocation. However, as is also easy to understand, the Church has never thought that *all* Christians or even a substantial majority should actually follow it. The religious life must be by its very nature an exception to the ordinary Christian life of the members of the Church. It lies at the periphery of the Church; it could not exist except at the margins of the Christian community. It is a literally abnormal vocation. This is most obvious in relation to that which, as we have seen, is the proper state of religion, namely, celibacy: the Church could count on members that would follow the religious life only if first it could count on married Christians who would procreate those who would eventually take up religion.

But the Church has also in its collective history realized what many of us have sometimes individually forgotten: the same reasons that preclude the extension of the religious life to the whole Christian membership also preclude its extension to the whole of the priesthood. For the religious life is beneficial to the Church as long as it remains a relatively private affair within the Church. It is good as long as it takes its place in a pluralistic, inwardly differentiated Christian community. It cannot be desirable for the totality. It is, in brief, a contingent institution. It might never have come into being. It might conceivably disappear while the Church remained essentially the same. None of these propositions, however, is true of the priesthood. It is a public affair of the Church. It was instituted by Jesus. It is necessary to the life of the Church. And conceivably it could extend to a majority, even to all the members of the Church—in a way indeed it so extends.

Therefore, the Church has always recognized that it would not be desirable if, I do not say absolutely all Christians, but even all priests, were to follow the religious life. Indeed, in its own way it would be as impossible for all priests as for all Christians to withdraw from the world. For the priesthood as such cannot be separated from the world. Its role is *in* the world, and it consists in establishing a certain relation *with* the world and in the first place to serve within the center of the Church. It is, in sum, a *secular,* worldly vocation, not necessarily in the sense that the priest is the most proper Christian to fulfill the missionary role of the Church, but at least in the sense that his ministry is constituted for the sake of the Christian world: the essential role of the priesthood is a pastoral one.

But although this relative incompatibility between religion and priesthood has always been more or less dimly perceived, full consciousness has not always obtained—any more than the traditional recognition of the redemption of the world has prevented ambivalent attitudes towards it. Thus, the Church, recognizing the undesirability and indeed impossibility of formally prescribing religion for its priesthood, yet enamored of the ideal of the religious life, decided at an early time on what it thought would be an adequate compromise. Some priests would be permitted to follow the religious life. Even if these became numerous, they would be extraordinary cases. The ordinary priesthood would be *secular,* that is, it would remain in the world. On the other hand, the secular priesthood would be required to approximate the religious life when it did not follow it in full. But in what consisted this approximation? Principally in that the priesthood should forgo a home in the world in the most obvious and literal sense—in a word, celibacy.

This compromise has worked well in the past. Just as full religious profession has served to improve the quality of the priesthood to the benefit of the whole Church, upholding religion as an ideal has similarly profited the secular clergy, particularly perhaps since the Counter Reformation. But the compromise has not been all profit. It has increasingly shown certain disadvantages which stem from the inward inconsistency of supposing that

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the priesthood could remain secular (that is, retain its essential function in and for the world) and yet profess celibacy (that is, renounce in the most basic sense of the word its home in the world).

History has ever more clearly shown what may well have been unavoidably obscure at one time: there is at bottom a contradiction between professional celibacy and secular priesthood. Religious celibacy may well have seemed like a mere approximation to the religious life. But an approximation to religion that begins with celibacy is rather like the camel's approximation to the tent. One of the two, celibacy or secularity, had to be imperfectly and superficially realized; it had to be more apparent than real. And since celibacy cannot be had by halves and is, moreover, easily detected and, as it were, mechanically controllable, what has in fact suffered—all the more so to the extent that celibate *chastity* has prevailed among the clergy after the fairly widespread irregularities of the late medieval clergy—is the worldliness, the secularity of the priesthood. As we know, the Church as a whole has become increasingly divorced intellectually from the reality of the world since the end of the middle ages, and most radically so since the beginning of the 19th century. It is not difficult to suppose that one of the principal causes at work in this process has been the gradual loss of the secularity of the priesthood.

We are now in a position to understand the basic theological argument against the continuation of clerical celibacy. The traditional eschatological perspective which had already emerged by the end of the 3rd century and which reached its zenith in the 13th, has continued to develop and in our own time has reached the threshold of a new metamorphic stage. How should this eschatology be characterized?

Parousia as an Ever Present Event

The vanguard of Catholic thought today does not expect the *parousia* to take the form of an apocalyptic event, even in the most distant future. This precludes not only the expectation of a spectacular or catastrophic manifestation of the arrival of the Christ. The important point this view contests is that the *parousia* should be understood as a discrete event which begins to occur at a certain moment of Aristotelian time. Adopting instead some form of the contemporary understanding of time, as suggested by 20th century scientific and philosophical speculation, some Catholic theologians conceive the end of the world and the institution of the Kingdom of God as an intrinsically temporal and historical event.

The *parousia* thus would not be an absolutely future event which in no way happens now. Rather, it would be an ever *present* event—curiously, the word *parousia* literally means *presence*. But this is to be understood as a historical, not an instantaneous, presence. On the other hand, this is not a metaphorical presence, but a literal one. It refers to the gradual, evolutionary realization of the presence of the Christ to human history (the *Christogenesis* of Teilhard's variation of this theory). Consequently, since history is the result of interaction between man and God, the *parousia* reserves a critical role for man: the end of the world is not to be passively expected, it is to be actively *brought about*. Human action—or, more accurately, man's growth in self-consciousness, man's historical self-realization—is seen from this perspective as the instrument of God's final transformation of the world. Through our existence, which creates history insofar as it is freely willed, the Christ fulfills the redemption of the world and comes to it at the end in triumph and glory. Thus, this "historical eschatology" understands the *parousia* as God's self-extrusion into the world, as the fulfillment of God's gracious incarnation, as God's self-temporalization and self-historicization: in a word, as God's redeeming self-revelation to the world. The *parousia* is the presence of Christ insofar as this presence is historical, transforming, progressive and evolving.

In its full detail and consistency this eschatology is not shared by most Catholic thinkers today, nor does it enjoy magisterial authority—on the contrary it has often been the object of suspicion (though much less so in recent years). On the other hand, its principal element, the participation of the historical present in the shaping of the eventual triumph of Christ is hardly the subject of much controversy any more. Even fairly traditionalist theologians like Winklhofer, who retain a fundamentalist understanding of the consummation of the *parousia* as a discrete, catastrophic apocalypse, nevertheless agree that the Second Coming is already taking place and that it is an "unfolding" event.

More important yet, the authoritative magisterium has already adopted, both in theory and in practice, the basic concepts of a historical eschatology. The constitution *De Ecclesia* clearly implies them, as do the new doctrines on the laity and on Catholic Action. And it has provided even further support with the adoption by Vatican II of the richly significant conception of God's self-revelation as a historical event. In short, although the historical eschatology to which I have alluded is not yet officially taught, the new practical and theoretical orientations officially adopted by the Church in its relations with the world directly imply an eschatological attitude which transcends the patristic-medieval stage

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of the Christian faith. In this limited sense, therefore, it could be said that the teaching of Vatican II logically requires a priesthood which need not profess withdrawal from the world even "approximately." This means, of course, a priesthood which need not profess religious celibacy.

The same conclusion could be reached by transposing the argument into a sociological key. To the degree that the priesthood has adopted celibacy as the approximation to the religious life, it has separated itself from the world—both the Christian and the non-Christian world. During the ages when the ethnic, cultural, political, geographic and social unit of Christendom was assured, the division of the priesthood from the laity could be tolerated without great evil and with net spiritual profit. But this is not true today. The fundamental sociological bond among Christians today is the priesthood-laity relationship. The priesthood's religious separation from the world and principally its celibacy alienates it from the laity at the very time when, on the contrary, everything should foster their relations and merge their differences. Indeed, this should be put in stronger terms: the celibacy of the priesthood, principally that of the pastoral priesthood, perpetuates a serious, intolerable disunity within the Church which may continue to be ignored only at the gravest peril. In fact, the burden of proof should really rest with those who would contest this proposition: that the good of the Church obviously requires the prudently gradual discontinuation of this custom.

However, not only the welfare of the Church, but also its missionary vocation to the world beyond the Church points to the same conclusion. For we now require closer relations between priesthood and world, as we do between priesthood and laity and between laity and world—in a word, between Church and world—than at any previous time. Should the priesthood retain its traditional separation from laity and world at a time when the Church has consciously decided to bridge the chasm between itself and the world? Evidently, the priesthood would be inadequate to fulfill its share in the task of renewal if it did not become truly secular. And the priesthood would remain insufficiently secular as long as it generically professed celibacy, that is, as long as it generically professed not to have a home in the world.

The formal dissociation of priesthood and religious celibacy is a vital need suggested by every dogmatic and pastoral orientation taken *already* by the Church. One can only hope that we will follow through, and that we will continue to move ahead—without further delays, pauses or reverses such as we experienced during the 19th century—along the very lines that have guided our evolution since Pentecost.

One-way street?

OUR CULTURAL EXCHANGES

RICHARD MARSHALL

The U.S. and the Soviet Union have just signed their fifth two-year Cultural Exchange Agreement, despite tensions generated by Vietnam, the cases of Professor Barghoorn and Newcomb Mott, and the customary bureaucratic harassment which the Soviets lavish upon the program. The recent confiscation by Soviet Customs of a hundred copies of the magazine *Arizona Highways* as "vicious anti-Soviet propaganda" is par for the course. The Soviet emergence from the nearly absolute isolation of the Stalin era was marked by prolonged negotiations leading, in 1958, to a formal agreement covering all aspects of exchange between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Science, technology and industry, agriculture, medicine, education and scholarly research; motion pictures, the performing arts, the professions; radio, television and publications; sports, tourism, and attendance at international conferences were all included in the pact. By the end of the third agreement in 1964, a total of 5,495 Americans had visited the USSR under 520 exchange projects, and 4,646 Soviet citizens had come to the United States under 550 projects. In addition, in the same period between 8-12,000 American tourists visited the Soviet Union annually, and from 77 to 450 Soviets visited the United States.

The U.S. and Soviet hopes for the Exchange Program

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have been the same. Both nations desire to give a good impression of their particular societies, and both seek to know the state of the other's national opinion in order to formulate policy more intelligently. However, the Soviet conduct of exchanges over the past several years has shown that their primary objective is that of gaining scientific and technical information to further the development of Soviet industry and agriculture. The U.S., on the other hand, hopes to encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union toward a more open society, a goal which Soviet authorities frequently see as a potential danger to their form of government. In 1959 the chairman of the State Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries stated that "the Soviet people favor the widest development of cultural ties" but warned that "we will not allow these contacts to be used as a Trojan horse stuffed with a hash of obscene refuse." Among the problems arising from these Soviet fears is the heavy weighting of the exchange agreements on the side of short-term visits. Graduate students and professors constitute the single largest exception to this policy; but American students have frequently complained that they, along with other foreign students (including those from the satellite countries), have found themselves effectively isolated from their Soviet contemporaries, though in many cases they shared the same quarters. Professor Harold J. Berman of Harvard Law School reported that attendance at his lecture series dropped from 200 to about 5 when it was discovered that he had distributed Russian language texts of the 1954 Supreme Court opinion outlawing "separate but equal" school facilities for Negroes.

Exchange students have not been allowed to study at the scientific institutions under the Soviet Academy of Sciences, only those maintained by the Ministry of Higher Education. This has resulted in greatly limited access to materials for most American students. No such distinction is made for Soviet students in the United States. Fortunately, in recent months some progress seems to have been made toward establishing a more equitable agreement for American students.

One-Sided Tourism

In the realm of tourism, too, there are several inequalities. The most obvious is the great disparity in numbers between Americans who have visited the USSR and Soviets who have come to this country. Since 1958 over 60,000 American tourists have visited the Soviet Union. In the same period only about 6,000 Soviets tourists have come to the United States. Soviet officials maintain that the high cost of travel in the United States is the main reason. In fact the real reason for this imbalance is that the Soviet Union, despite its agreement to the contrary, has no real interest in tourism *per se*. (Indeed, in the Soviet Union the ability to travel abroad is not viewed as a basic right of citizens; it is more in the nature of a reward granted to the thoroughly reliable.) This is borne out not only by the small numbers of Soviets who actually come to this country, but also by the fact that even these few usually have some specific non-touristic objectives which they continually pester their commercial American travel agents to assist them in realizing. In this way an agricultural delegation, for example, may tour the United States without incurring the responsibility for a reciprocal visit by a comparable American group.

Will Rogers once said: "Communism is one-third practice and two-thirds explanation." For the American tourist in the USSR it is Intourist, the official Soviet travel organization, which provides this explanation. The organization was originally set up to shepherd tourists through a pre-planned sightseeing itinerary of hand-picked items in a certain number of show-place cities. Special Intourist hotels were set aside for the exclusive use of foreigners.

The expansion of Intourist facilities in recent years indicates that the Soviet government is satisfied that the "credits" which have accrued from tourism far outweigh the "debits." Thousands of impressionable visitors have visited model day-nurseries, hospitals, stores, and apartment buildings. At the same time, the Soviets have been able to minimize their losses by drastically limiting meaningful personal contact. Each year during the period of maximum tourism, a rash of articles appears in the Soviet press characterizing foreigners as "spies" and "ideological saboteurs." In all probability the average Soviet reader does not take such statements at face value, but he gets the message: the regime frowns upon his speaking to foreigners. If he is over thirty, he also recalls the days of Stalin's State Secrets Act and is further inhibited. (As Jane Moody has pointed out in *Problems of Communism*, November-December, 1964, this results in a certain preselection of the Soviets a traveler may meet. These contacts are apt to be disproportionately drawn from the ranks of the "young, the bold and the foolish.") Likewise, during this same period Tass manages to obtain wide distribution of reports of Americans who are arrested and detained or expelled. (There is some evidence to prove that many of these incidents are deliberately provoked to fulfill an arbitrarily determined quota for this purpose.) Given the sensationalistic treat-

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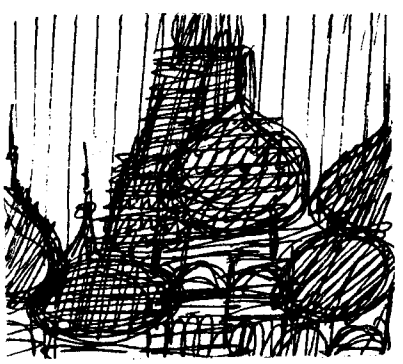
ment these stories often receive in the American press, it is not surprising that they induce Americans, too, to hang back from unofficial contacts.

The most controversial area of exchanges has been that of attendance at international conferences. Although the U.S. operates here, too, on the principle of reciprocity, in practice it has not insisted upon it as elsewhere. For one reason, far more conferences are held in this country than in the Soviet Union. Likewise, we expect to have our nationals attend international meetings, wherever they are held, and hence cannot be too strict. For this reason advance assurances of equal opportunity in the Soviet Union are not requested in most cases where the conference in this country is concerned with a non-sensitive field. The result is that Americans often have difficulty obtaining invitations to Soviet scientific meetings. In 1962, an average year, the Soviets attended five times as many American conferences as our scientists attended in the USSR and in less than ten percent of these cases did we insist on reciprocity. The Exchanges Staff philosophically regards this as the price it must pay for the educational, cultural and informational parts of the program.



Many have held that for the United States to insist on reciprocity at all is childish, and that we ought instead "go the extra mile" to show what a free society can afford to do. Perhaps there was an aspect of pettiness in our decision of 1955 to counter the closed areas of the Soviet Union by imposing similar restrictions on Soviets in this country. On the other hand, in 1962 we did remove these restrictions for Soviet tourists and exchange people, and as yet the Soviets have not reciprocated. We have consistently countered all Soviet appeals for more technical delegations with demands for comparable increase in other fields. For this reason, and this reason only, the program has always remained relatively well-balanced. Certainly problems arise in the application of this principle. For example, how does one determine how many performances of the Moiseyev Dancers are equal to three runs of "My Fair Lady"? But however arbitrary and imperfect this is, at present there seems to be no alternative. If more proof is needed we may cite the experience of the British in cultural exchange. They have never insisted on strict reciprocity and have allowed exchanges to be conducted in large measure through private organizations. Today, many individuals connected with the program acknowledge that they have made a mistake and that exchange has become virtually a one-way street.

Evaluation of the results of the Exchanges Program to date is not easy. Our short-term objective of keeping in touch with the development of Soviet society has been realized to a considerable extent. (It is useful to ponder the lack of information we have about internal developments in China and Cuba.) One American professor said in 1950 that Kremlinology was for him some kind of speculative astronomy. Today scholars and political scientists can pursue their studies much more confidently.

In the Long Run

In the case of our long-range goals, the matter is less easily determined. Surely the Soviet peoples have shown great interest in exchanges. In the first place, control of news has created a great thirst for uncensored information. In the first years of the program, the days of the marathon "sidewalk seminars," when Americans often had to answer questions for hours on end, this curiosity was most clearly apparent. The Benny Goodman tour in 1960 was completely unadvertised in the USSR yet those interested in it knew weeks in advance of its coming and a full month before it began all tickets had been snatched up. The Soviet government was embarrassed by this and undertook a campaign to eliminate such outbursts. For this reason, though the curiosity still exists, it is today manifest more subtly.

Many American artists and members of exhibits have noted that their offerings have been most warmly received during periods of the greatest international tension, as during the U-2 or Cuban missile crisis. For the Soviet people the presence of the exchange groups afforded them much comfort and their approval of them seems to have been a means of exercising a popular vote against the Cold War. It was also an expression of their hope that the program will contribute to mutual understanding and a reduction of tension.

Many partisans of exchanges cite the current popularity of "djazz," bouffant hairdos and peg pants where not too long ago these things were roundly condemned. Even the cha-cha, as recently as 1960 condemned as decadent, has been accepted (as the Cuban national dance). Further, they say that the 1959 Moscow Ex-

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hibition contributed to the increased demand for consumer goods of quality and variety. In the field of agriculture, the program may have had some effect on the introduction of a new system of incentives and the Liberman theory on consumer-demand marketing may also be an import.

Of course these things have little to do with intellectual freedom or political democracy. Still, they assume a certain significance when one recalls the severe conformity and doctrinaire line of ten years ago.

The class of people which the program has made perhaps the greatest attempts to reach is that of rising young scientists, professional men and academicians. In general they seem to be less rigid than their fathers and more interested in rejoining the Western cultural and intellectual community. American artists and scholars have been most effective in reaching them. It now seems that in some ways the tastes and views of this new class have made themselves felt. As recently as five years ago it would have been difficult to conceive the translations of such American authors as Faulkner, Salinger or Updike being published. Today they are all available to the Soviet reader. Likewise, in the Soviet arts there is reason to believe that the exchange has helped innovators stand up to the official esthetic of Socialist Realism. (Indeed, it is hard to see, for example, how the regime could allow Goodman to appear so widely and then compromise its moral authority by forbidding all domestic jazz.)

One student of Soviet-American relations recently remarked that the era of exchanges has forced both parties to depart to an extent from traditional modes of behavior. For example, our government finds itself in the position of subsidizing performing artists travelling in the USSR although the separation of art and the state has been traditional. The Soviets, on the other hand, have always controlled art with an iron hand but today find themselves stimulating a non-governmental flow of ideas and culture.

In sum, we have maintained a balanced program which has registered tangible gains on several fronts. It is too early to say which of the changes in Soviet society have been directly influenced by the exchange, of course. Suffice it to say that a great many citizens of the USSR have a better picture of life in the West today than they had ten years ago. Furthermore, careful examination of the five Agreements shows that each one has represented an improvement, however slight, over its predecessor. The program has been most effective where our proposals have most reasonable (i.e., neither hoping for too much nor settling for too little) and most doggedly pursued. Our experience enables us to predict quite accurately what the difference is between the two extremes, and this, in conjunction with the principle of reciprocity, holds out the best hope for a continuation and expansion of the program.

Since the Cuban Crisis of 1963 both sides have confirmed their commitment to exchanges. This has been seen in the more businesslike and less acrimonious atmosphere in which arrangements are ironed out. Problems that seem insoluble still exist, of course. In the 1964 negotiations the Soviets refused to consider the commercial sale of books and periodicals in their country (although they disseminate over a million such items through more than fifty outlets in this country annually); they would not agree to an increase in the exchange of radio and television programs; and they accepted a continuation of the exhibits exchange with the greatest reluctance.

Though in any real sense "private" exchanges are still impossible, acceptance of the principle and practice of exchanges has obliged the USSR to adopt at least a permissive attitude toward a degree of direct, personal, professional and scholarly contacts with Soviet citizens and groups. As long as we remain within the framework of mutual advantage and strive to maintain the bridge which we have painstakingly built to a part of the Soviet intellectual community, the program will continue to be effective.

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PHILIP LEGLER

THE HUNTER

All poems are of the mind
  we said, like evening deer
safe in a cool twilight—
  free, though apart;

but something in the wind
  triggered the old buck where
the clearing fired to right
  our aim not art;

triggered, himself, the wound
  and bristle of a lair
as if he'd turned that night
  a young upstart.

So, girl, you have found
  the animal at your door,
caught in the hunter's sight
  a seasoned heart.

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JFK ON FILM

THE SCREEN

At long last the stirring USIA documentary film, "John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," has started its pilgrimage throughout the United States. Because this Information Agency's films are made for exhibition only in foreign countries (so they won't compete with private industry or be accused of party propaganda) a special act of Congress had to be passed to allow the picture to be shown in this country. And because the movie, which tells the story of Kennedy's two-years-and-ten-months presidency, won such enthusiastic applause from audiences in the 117 countries where it has been shown and from those Americans who saw it, Congress passed that act last summer. Now Americans so inclined can see this well-made documentary at their local theaters.

Needless to say, "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums" is an extremely moving film—not only because of the aura that continues to surround the President whose sudden death shocked the nation, but also because of the skillful technique used by the film makers. Producer George Stevens, Jr., and director Bruce Herschensohn interspersed the excellent shots of Kennedy in action during his presidency (explaining his program, giving speeches, and appearing before various groups here and abroad) with equally fine shots of the funeral. Thus, the effect of this 87-minute feature film (most of which is in color) is that of a cinematic ode or threnody. The emotionally charged scenes of the funeral (the body lying in state, Mrs. Kennedy and the children, the cortege, Washington, St. Matthew's Cathedral, the procession to Arlington, the graveside) are alternated with scenes of the inauguration, the Peace Corps, snatches of Kennedy discussing the Alliance for Progress, Civil Rights, Military Preparedness, the Pursuit of Peace, and Exploration of Space. Except for views of Kennedy and his family in the White House and the visit to Ireland, personal scenes are few; but the aims and ideals of President Kennedy are well conveyed.

Adding considerably to the picture's emotional impact are the good commentary written by Bruce Herschensohn, nicely narrated by Gregory Peck, and Herchensohn's musical score with its emphasis on the beat of drums. Most of the scenes speak eloquently for themselves; perhaps it would have been wise for the commentary to be quieted every now and then so audiences could see for themselves without having everything spelled out.

It must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that this is a USIA film for showing abroad. Americans may be particularly impressed with this when they are told during the affecting funeral scenes that Kennedy's fine aims and high ideals did not die with the President, but are being continued by President Johnson. Audiences may even wonder if there isn't a touch of politics here. On the whole, however, "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums" is an impressively stated, perhaps over-stated, tribute to John F. Kennedy. Detractors of the late President will no doubt deplore the film's he-could-do-no-wrong, man-for-the-ages tone. But admirers of Kennedy, of which there were legion, will revel in the emotional experience, as they weep for Lycidas, "dead ere his prime, Young Lycidas and hath not left his peer."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

UNCARBONATED POP

THE STAGE

There is a lot of mild entertainment going around at the moment, of a type that calls more for light pats on the head than for beatle-browed criticism.

"Wait a Minim" is a professionally amateurish musical soup from South Africa. Although it has been running for years in various corners of the globe, and has had plenty of time to polish itself, W.A.M. resolutely hangs on to some very feeble sight-gags, which look as if they had just been thought up and which protect the amateur standing. The effect is something like a country music show, although the actual music is rather more sophisticated.

The troupe has also finessed the race problem quite neatly. There is nothing here to bring a blush to the cheek of a New York liberal; yet with little alteration, or no alteration at all, the same show could be played just as safely to South African audiences. For example, a running gag in which a white farmer keeps shooting a Negro for dumb insolence might not bother a hearty Boer at all. The humor of cruelty looks different, depending on where you hang it.

Anyway, the musical numbers are agreeable and inventive, with every small-bore instrument known to man, save possibly the sack-butt and the washboard, getting a hearing at some point or other. Brothers Andrew and Paul Tracey really seem to enjoy horsing

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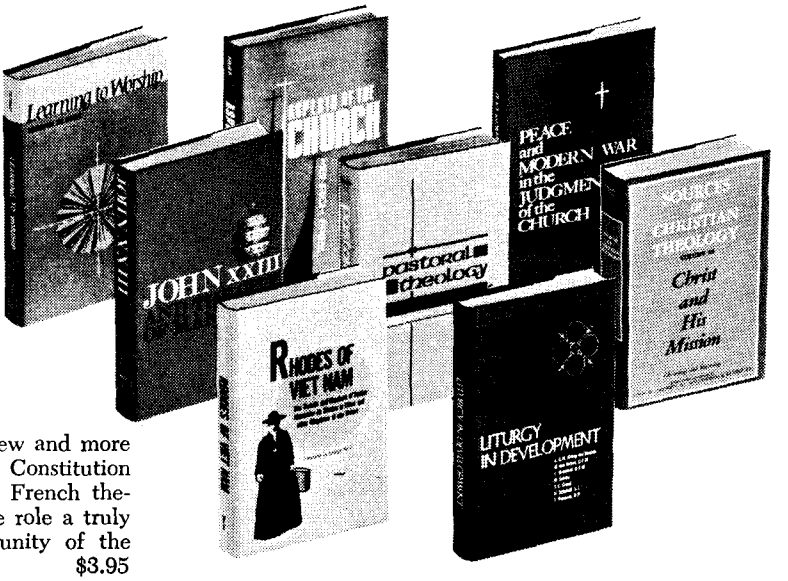
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around, which helps enormously with this kind of show, and the girls make a nice change from our own 1966 models. (*At the Golden*)

Milder, much milder entertainment can be had at "Superman." Anyone who fears that "camp" is about to corrupt our sturdy middle-classes can rest easy with "Superman"; our sturdy middle-classes have already corrupted camp. Exposure to kleig and neon has bleached camp out beyond recognition, as it has sturdier fashions. What remains is commercialized irony, and commercialized irony is of course no irony at all, because everybody is supposed to get it. Pop art is, by its nature, a joke that not too many people can be let in on. As soon as the public starts laughing at Superman, the joke is over and pop art retreats: its favorite province is that which the public takes more or less seriously.

With its edges of insideness and perversity planed down like this, pop culture becomes insipid indeed. Nine people out of ten don't really know what's supposed to be so funny about old comic books; cannot even formulate the concept camp. So they are simply stuck with the old comic books, a very modest medium of entertainment, and with straightforward jokes about comic books.

"Superman" is no more than an affable, weak-minded take-off, much less vinegary than the stuff Harvey Kurtzman used to do in *Mad* magazine, before *Mad* too went kitsch, but pleasant enough. Superman is presented as an all-American lunk-head—rather in the style of Lil' Abner. Robert Randolph has staged the show admirably, and is probably the only name worth dwelling on. Jack Cassidy and Michael O'Sullivan give the same performances that they gave in their last plays. In this slightly distorted form, comic books have returned to their original function—the entertainment of children and small adults.

As for camp: the only trace of it to be found is in the public itself, which is big, simple and willing like Superman and actually believes it is taking part in the New Decadence everytime it sees a man in leotards. There may be a certain off-mauve humor in this. (*At the Alvin*)

Hal Holbrook's rendering of Mark Twain will please or dismay you in accordance with your feelings about Twain. For myself, I find most of the material funnier in print. Holbrook's movements are quite droll, especially his little stuttering walk to the water jug: the roguishness of this reminds one of Twain's good-bad boy *persona*, as described by Leslie Fiedler. But Holbrook's voice is grating, and has to make up much in mannerism that it lacks in essential interest.

What Holbrook conveys best is the smugness of a great man reading his own material. The twinkle in his eye is partly honest amusement but partly also overweaning self-satisfaction: almost as if he had written the material himself. Perhaps by now he thinks he has. Since his performance has often been termed a classic, he receives a surer response from his audience than most monologuists can depend on. And it could be that this gives him an assurance which chimes nicely with his subject. (*At the Longacre*) WILFRID SHEED

BOOKS

The mindscape of German idealism

The Artist's Journey Into the Interior

ERICH HELLER

Random House, $4.95

BRIAN WILKIE

In his Preface to *The Artist's Journey into the Interior and Other Essays* Erich Heller quotes an ancient saying: "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing." Mr. Heller candidly acknowledges that he is a hedgehog, and the seven nominally separate essays which comprise the present volume are all variations on a common theme that is indeed a "big thing," perhaps the very "biggest" in Western thought and art over the last two centuries.

Since the Romantic age at least, men have been obsessed by the relationship between matter and spirit—or, to state the problem in more modern idiom, between nature and consciousness, between what is inside our heads (or our skins) and what lies outside of them or seems to. It is because this problem continues to obsess the modern mind that our century can be considered a continuation of the Romantic age, however stridently we may reject Victorianism and all its works, or nineteenth-century "optimism" (a brazenly superficial phrase if there ever was one). Mr. Heller's book does not set out designedly to prove that we are all still Romantic at heart, but it does help make that case.

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These essays belong to a noble tradition that seems still to survive amid the puritanical specialization of much modern scholarship, the tradition in which thinking men address one another not as fellow specialists but as fellow men concerned in common with the flow of ideas and of history. Mr. Heller's training is in law, philosophy, and literature, but in the present volume disciplines do not compete with one another; they blend harmoniously with the author's individual intelligence and are subordinated to it. The value of the essays derives mainly from the quality of Mr. Heller's own mind, values, and sensibility rather than from original data or information adduced. This is a genuinely humane book.

Most of the essays concern German thought and literature, but Mr. Heller puts them in the international context of European thought and literature in general. The key figures in the book are Marlowe, Shakespeare, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Hegel, Thomas Mann, Nietzsche, Rilke, Wittgenstein. The first essay, on the mutations of the Faust myth, develops the paradox by which an omnivorous and heroically amoral science has given a new dimension to the idea of Hell in the very process of trying to liberate the pursuit of knowledge from moral sanctions. The essay on Schiller (really a combination of two essays written at different times) is both an attempt to render the essential quality of Schiller's mind and art and an investigation of how German idealism has colored the darker chapters of modern German history that seem so alien to idealism—a bemusing problem.

The title essay is the most ambitious in the book and also (because of some unconvincing and badly impressionistic passages on painting and sculpture) the most flawed. It deals with the relationship between Hegel's theory of Romantic art (for Hegel, all art except that of the high Grecian period) as essentially destructive of art itself and post-Hegelian trends in art which have substantiated Hegel's ideas.

The last two essays, on Nietzsche and Ludwig Wittgenstein, seem to me the best ones in the book. The main objective and achievement of the Romantic poets, I believe, was to reestablish the integrity of art and thought, so that imagination (and especially poetry) could no longer be divorced from the serious business of apprehending truth. The existentialist strand in modern philosophy has remained relevant (to say the least) to literature, but it has seemed to many people that the branches of recent philosophy concerned with language analysis are totally irrelevant to literature and imaginative thought.

One of Mr. Heller's achievements is to show that the direction in which Wittgenstein led philosophy is essentially akin to the direction literature has taken, a direction exemplified and predicted by Nietzsche. There is nothing very consoling about this direction, which is toward a half-despairing divorce between spirit and matter, words and things; nevertheless, it is worth something to know that the eighteenth-century split between art and "serious" thought is not necessarily so complete today as we sometimes believe.

British Politics in the Collectivist Age

SAMUEL H. BEER

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WILLIAM B. GOULD

There are two contending schools of thought about British politics these days. One holds that the Labor and Conservative Parties are "deeply opposed" regarding the role that the rank-and-file (as opposed to the leadership) are to play in political affairs. The Labor Party, this theory says, is the mass party which is truly responsive to its Conference and the resolutions that sometimes unruly and impetuous body endorses. In contrast, the Conservative Party is the organ of elitism in which the leadership—or more accurately the Leader—is pretty well immunized from challenge by the ordinary party worker. This viewpoint incorporates the traditional notion that there are fundamental

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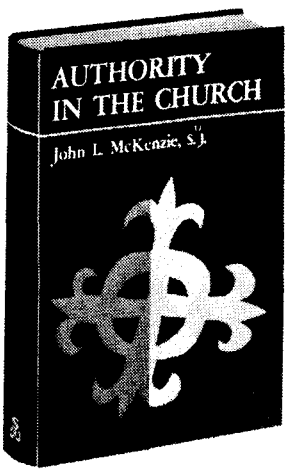

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differences between the parties on economic and social policy, which is reflected in Professor Beer's book.

The opposite theory can be found in the authoritative *British Political Parties* by Robert McKenzie, which states that while the rhetoric of the parties would indicate a fundamental clash in structure, in fact there is little difference. McKenzie argues that the Labor Party leaders constitute the policy-making institution wherein all initiative lies—especially when Labor is in power—and that, conversely, Tory leaders are disposed of on much the same grounds as those prevailing in the Labor Party: i.e., the discontent exhibited by the rank-and-file, a discontent that is usually triggered by unhappy tidings of electoral "polls" and a general loss of confidence in the country. This is a most controversial school of thought and it is therefore not surprising that Professor Beer's new book has been welcomed in some quarters with enthusiasm and what one might term near-malicious glee.

Professor Beer has indeed presented us with a considerable piece of scholarship, thoroughly researched and fluently written. But when all of this is said, it is difficult to accept some of the conclusions which have caused such a stir; just as difficult, I might add, as to accept Robert McKenzie's belabored proposition that the two parties are the same under the skin.

The trouble with *British Politics in the Collectivist Age* is that it is appearing at a time in which its theories are being undercut. Professor Beer says that the Labor Party has always insisted ". . . that not merely control, but also the initiative itself must in some real sense be exercised by the rank and file" and that on this count "the Socialist ideal of democracy sharply departed from the Tory." But Professor Beer's prime source for this statement is the Atlee Government which did indeed act upon the resolutions of previous party Conferences. The Wilson Government, on the other hand, has more than once run counter to the deeply felt prejudices and hunches of its activists and militants, and the Labor Party Conference has accepted it all, with only a few murmurs of dissent. No "initiative"—in any sense of that word—came from the Labor rank-and-file in 1965. And the Wilson government, both at home and abroad, has adopted policies that might well pass for Tory.

To be sure, Professor Beer is correct when he says that Labor is still the party of social egalitarianism and, as such, is the sponsor of measures like improved pensions and a capital gains tax. (In my opinion, these are factors which help make that party the preferable alternative.) But, at the same time, the Tories, guided by the Disraelian concern for the "condition of the people," are in almost full accord with the Welfare State. As R. A. Butler once said: "We are not frightened of the use of the State. A good Tory has never been in history afraid of the use of the State." The different motives here—Labor's ideological commitment and the Tories' will to rule—can be arguably characterized as fundamental.

But the great issues in Britain today are concerned with what Professor Beer calls the "Managed Economy," the business of stimulating efficiency, exports and eliminating the perennial balance of payments crises. In this realm one is hard put to it to find the basic cleavages between the parties. The general extent of Labor's direct planning has been the import surcharge and restriction of capital investment abroad. It seems reasonable to assume that the Tories—under Edward Heath anyway—might well have done the

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same. All of this narrows the gap between the parties and makes the politics of modern capitalism, in the words of C. A. R. Crosland, somewhat "marginal."

Professor Beer might have written his book a bit (though not too much) differently if he had known that those Swiss bankers now regard Harold Wilson as a very "respectable" politician. 1966 is fundamentally different from 1945.

Monks, Nuns and Monasteries

SACHEVERELL SITWELL

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ANNE FREMANTLE

Whether one merely gloats over the illustrations, or follows the text, here is beauty *à go-go*. It is also a work of devoted piety, both fraternal—it is dedicated to the late Dame Edith Sitwell—and general. The author, himself by his own account without religion, strongly feels what the Indians call *darsha*, the blessing inherent in inanimate objects, the "spiritual values imbued in the mere stones by so many generations." He does not, he says, know whether to envy most those persons who have loved such things all their lives, or those who have come to them later with the all the shock of a personal discovery.

Mr. Sitwell starts out with English monastic remains, and shows, by many examples, how tragic and how traumatic was the early, arbitrary and abrupt end of the monastic system in England. Nowhere in Europe were there abbeys on the scale of those in England, and the number of works of art destroyed at the suppression of the monasteries must be incalculable—for example the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket in Canterbury was the richest in all Europe. Of Sempringham nothing remains; all the monasteries and nunneries of Lincolnshire were completely destroyed; the Abbot of Barham was hung at his own gate; the Abbot of Glastonbury on Tor Hill, while Thomas Cromwell itemized the loot taken thence as including "11,000 oz and odd, besides gold"—of which there was some $120,000 worth!

For centuries, since the Norman Conquest, the English monks had lived peacefully, building now great barns "like a poet writing in *patois*," now roofs "aflap and aflame" with angel's wings; now windows, like those at Lincoln whose tracery, from outside, looks like the skeletons of twin leaves; now churches such as Heckington with the "marvellous reticulation of its buttresses with their receding planes and edges, the beautiful crocketing, the delicate tracery of its seven-light east window" or Sleaford, with its delicate stone plinth; or abbeys, such as Gloucester, the cradle of the Perpendicular, with its "fern-Gothic canopy" and fan-vaulter cloister.

True, there were abuses: the abbot of Bisham sipped sack nightly in his chamber until midnight; the nuns at Elstow had crested shoes and their bishop ordered them no "more to use red stomachers, but other, sadder, colors"; Abbot Marmaduke Huby gloried in his six white horses. But for centuries thousands of laborers were employed, sheep were raised, yards of cloth made, tons of coal dug and iron ore smelted, gardens cultivated, fruits grown, barrels of wine made and beer brewed and men, and women too, educated, and buildings galore created whose ruins—Tintern, Fountains, Pershore, Strata Florida—are as lovely as their names. Yet Mr. Sitwell is not wholly elegiac. He is full of information, such as that about the cliff and lighthouse hermits, and the anchorites, male and female. And he suggests admirable itineraries all over England for today's monastery-minded.

Yet for all his patriotism, Mr. Sitwell is happiest in Austria and in Portugal. For the late baroque and the rococo are his predilection, and he is one of the greatest living authorities on these subjects; indeed his writings on baroque art may well never be surpassed. He provides wonderful accounts of such wonders as Vierzehnheiligen, San Florian and Melk, and beautiful pho-

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tos of such lesser-known marvels as the relief of the walk to Emmaus from the cloister at Santo Domingo de Silos in old Castile and the tombs of Doña Inez de Castro and of Isabella of Portugal. He is at his least original anent the Romanesque abbeys in France—but who can say—or even think or feel—anything new today about Vézelay or Fontevrault? Yet even here he manages to be erudite about the "arabised" figures at Moissac and Souillac, suggesting that the undoubted Oriental influence comes from Mozarabic Spain, the Mozarabes being Spaniards who remained Christian but had become arabized, and even spoke Arabic. Mr. Sitwell says of them that it is as though "with Muhammadan fanaticism they are practising arts forbidden to the Muslims"—the representation of the human figure, and hence the "saddhu-like" prophets.

It is a great pity he had not more space—or inclination? for the Near-Eastern monasteries (Lebanese, for example, or Armenian) or those in Latin America, but his descriptions of Athos make that strange place seem most cosy, and it is little wonder that, as he says, it has been the "holiday home, almost the hostel" of generations of British undergraduates. He gives the USSR short shrift and mentions no Polish monasteries, but, all in all, this is a travel book which restores faith and hope both. For if, when in love with his Creator, man can rise to such aesthetic heights, there is surely no need to despair, whatever the mounting statistics of juvenile delinquent robberies, rapes, murders and arson. For, since the energy these young people now waste to deface and destroy was earlier used to create and to preserve, it could be so used again. This is, indeed, not only a nourishing but even a necessary, book.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 141*)

ness, and original sin described in this sense does not say anything different from what is said by Trent with regard to the relation between original sin and its bearer. The questions of polygenism and the act of generation as the immediate cause of original sin lie completely outside the purview of the Fathers of Trent. If Mr. Birmingham would read H. Jedin's book, *Geschicte des Konzils von Trent II*, he would see that Schoonenberg's position against the statement: "Only the sin of Adam alone was the cause of original sin" is completely justified. For Jedin also sees this statement as foreign to the doctrine of Trent.

It is quite important for all of us as Catholics to realize that in our faith the important thing is not a mechanical maintenance of the formulae of the magisterium, but rather a loyal acceptance of its sense. We must all come to the realization that the formulations of the magisterium were made within the context of changing historical situations, and that these situations were bound by the possibilities of the language of the times. If we are to accept the evolutionary vision of Teilhard, we must also be aware of the fact that all speech has to be re-explained in another situation. We not only need an exegesis of the Bible, but also of "Denzinger." It is my opinion that Francoeur and Schoonenberg are performing a great service for the Church in re-affirming through their doctrinal exegesis the unchanging sense of the magisterium.

THOMAS PATRICK LAVIN

Reply

Hackensack, N.J.

To the Editors: Thomas Patrick Lavin's letter is excellent. His is an alternative way of describing the reality that I term change. I would add only this: change is not, in my vocabulary, a pejorative; both Schoonenberg and Francoeur have written splendid books.

WILLIAM BIRMINGHAM

Precise Language

Ipswich, Mass.

To the Editors: I am grateful for Anthony Burgess' intelligent and gen-

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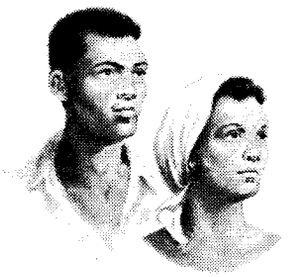

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erous remarks on my novels ("Language, Myth and Mr. Updike," February 11), to which my attention has been, belatedly, called. Yet I feel I should defend myself somewhat against the charges of imprecision he levels against the paragraph from *Of the Farm* beginning, "To close the window, etc." When I say that "thunder, like a violent guest grown too much at home, clapped," I did not mean to evoke, as I did for Mr. Burgess, the image of a drunken guest applauding his host's imitation of Sinatra. I had in mind a guest who seizes the host's prerogative and claps *for a servant*. Since this method of summoning is not North American (my own observation of it is confined to the West Indies), I do now wonder why it occurred to me, and why I thought its sense would be plain.

Apropos of this sentence, "She put her oval hand upon me," the shape of Peggy's hand is certainly, "relevant to the situation." Throughout the novel, her hands have been particularized—as "hard-working," "mannish," "shameless." Her bluntness and potency are in these hands, and their ovalness is critical at this point for, menstruating, she is offering her hand as a substitute for the vaginal oval.

Mr. Burgess, like less sympathetic critics, assumes that I regard language as a kind of third force, lovable in itself. Actually, nothing about language interests me except its possibilities for precision. And incidentally, in reproducing a few sentences of mine you have printed "bewildering" as "bewildered" and "complexly" as "completely."

JOHN UPDIKE

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REVIEWERS

BRIAN WILKIE *teaches in the English Department at the University of Illinois. He is the author of* Romantic Poets and Epic Tradition *(University of Michigan Press)*.

WILLIAM B. GOULD, *a member of the Michigan bar, spent a year at the London School of Economics.*

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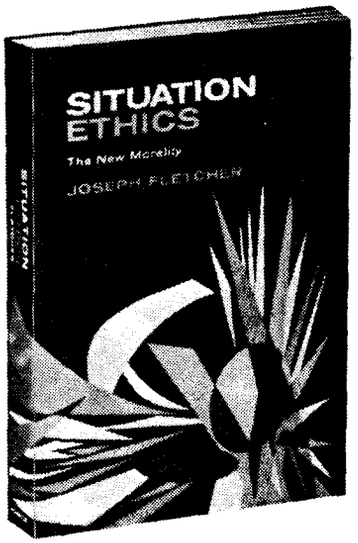

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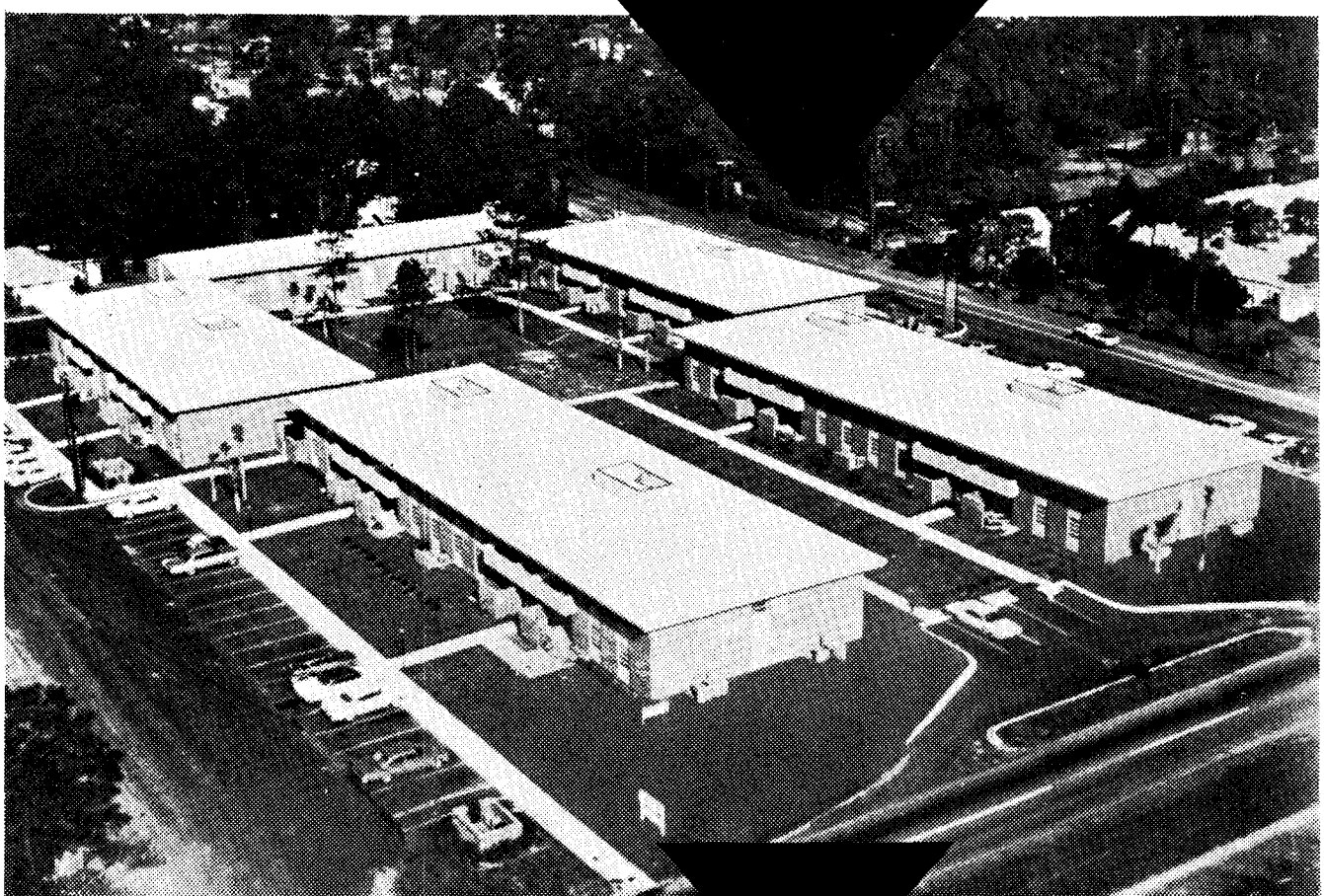

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